Dec 15

Price TWOPENCE

THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

CHRISTMAS, 1917

GOVERNMENT

The Rulers of the Earth, savage and blind,
Have dug Gethsemane for all mankind,
For their honour and their glory and their pride
In every age the heroes of all nations died.
Thus Joan of Arc and Socrates were slain
By the World's Bane;
Jesus Christ, a thousand years ago,
They servèd so;
And Roger Casement, just the other day,
Went the same way.
Now is their hour of power and life's despair,
From blasted earth and desecrated air.
The Universal death that is their dream
Flows o'er the earth in a great lava stream,
'Whelming men's thoughts in floods of liquid fire
To light the old world's funeral pyre.
Shall then our hearts in hell fire burn
To serve their turn;
God's splendid rebels and men's stupid slaves
Earn the same graves.
Oh, rather let us scorn life's baser gains,
The joyless spoils of death-strewn battle plains,
Where for our riches, glory and their lust
Some million human brains are bloodstained dust.
Far better labour for that purpose known
With the Gods alone,
That hides behind the darkness and the storm
In every human form,
If but to die on God's dear battle plain,
Where daisies mount to life through sun and rain,
Whilst the wild winds their rapturous tumults rouse,
And the trees fight for beauty in green boughs.
Peace be to those who rule and hate and kill—
The world's true will
Has brought, in this black hour of pain and strife,
A violet to life.

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

"—FOR OF SUCH IS THE KINGDOM OF MAMMON"

"There is considerable opposition on industrial grounds to the raising of the school age."—Daily Paper.

Children, we have need of you;
Put your books and toys away;
No more time for school or play;
You have other things to do.

You must come to fill the room
Of your elders that are dead;
You must do the work instead,
In mine and mill, at lathe and loom.

You must bear yourselves as men;
Till and sow and spin and weave
From dawn to dark, nor ever grieve
Or wish your childhood back again.

Though you forfeit youth and health,
Be your recompense and pride
To fill the place of them that died,
And to rebuild their masters' wealth.

So shall England still endure
Supreme amid her sister-lands,
Upheld by children's weary hands,
And so our riches be secure.

You've had time enough to learn:
You must toil that we may thrive;
'Tis yours to work, and ours to live,
Ours to enjoy and yours to earn.

Children, there is work to do;
No more time for school or play;
Put your books and toys away;
We have urgent need of you.

W. N. EWER.

THE SEASON'S GREETINGS

From _____

To _____

BY HILDA JEFFERIES.

Christmas Vision, 1917

"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men."
[St. Luke, ch. 2, v. 8—20.

A SONG OF MARY MAGDALENE. *By Regina Miriam Bloch.*

On the terraces of Heaven I saw Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Jesus walking together.

The Magdalene went in their midst and they held a long canopy of white brocade fringed with crystal by rods of silver over her head. Their garments were as white mountain mists, their faces lily-pale, and their feet as clusters of camphire when the heat of the censer touches them.

I heard Mary of Magdala weeping, and the sound was strange in Heaven.

And behold! Christ came toward them over the blossom-drifts of the terrace, and they paused in their pacing and stood as three white tapers with flames of golden hair.

On the feet of Christ the wounds flickered like rubies, but the thorn-crown on His brows had borne red roses, and a fire burnt from his bosom with a perfume of offerings and incense.

He said to the weeping one: "Sweet sister, howbeit?"

She said: "Ah, well-away, Thou Crown-jewel of all Majesty; it is no pain, for there is none in this place of surcease. But hast Thou seen a little flower hidden in the heath-grass when careless feet have trampled thereon? It closeth its petals and lieth low, and it is many hours before it raiseth up its crushed head. Yet the sun draws it and it openeth again its chalice to the light.

"Even so it was with me, and though the sins of earth are purgéd from my soul and I am in the hyssop of absolution; some time there is with me, as now, the memory of my awakening, and it saddens my heart."

And she cupped her tears within her tender hands, so that there was both a fringe of crystal above her head and a living one upon her eyelashes.

Christ said: "Magdalena, and ye sweet sister Maries, can ye guess which was my bitterest hour of anguish?"

Then Mary Salome said: "Thy Agony in the Garden."

But Christ said: "Nay, not so."

Mary Magdalene, the midmost Mary, said: "Thy Calvary, when Thou didst bear the Cross up Golgotha, broken and taunted of men in that abysmal humiliation."

Christ said: "Not this."

And Mary the mother of James said: "The moment of Thy crowning sorrow was surely when Thou didst hang crucified and cry to God with that exceeding torment, *'Eli, Eli, llama sabbachthani!'*"

Yet Christ said: "Not even this—it was my Resurrection."

I heard the weeping of Mary Magdalene cease suddenly, as they turned toward the sanctuary of Mary the Virgin.

HUMANIST EDUCATION. By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

How I have been robbed of opportunity, my youth and my childhood wasted! How poor was the training I received; how ill-developed and ignorant I still am! There are few but will feel that, as they read the story of the wonderful New School* at Bierges, in Belgium, recounted by its creator. In Faria's new school no weary, unwilling little children wrinkled their brows over dull, irksome "sums" and grammar, long lists of historic dates and names of places. There was no cramming at Faria's school; knowledge was acquired, as though by accident, in the course of an endless series of enterprises initiated by the pupils themselves.

The pupils cultivated the soil, made, builded, and explored, and in the course of their work they were helped to realise the universe and its laws and the relation of themselves and their tiny efforts to all that is and has been. "I study animals, plants and the world," an eight-year-old boy wrote in the school magazine.

The school was situated in broad, open agricultural country in Brabant, overlooking the valley of the Doyle, three-quarters of an hour's train journey from Brussels, and within easy reach of great mining and manufacturing centres. The school had fourteen acres of its own land, and included the farm and gardens, the school dwelling-house, and two study buildings, the one comprising a smithy, carpenters' shop, physical and chemical laboratory, workshops for book-binding, cardboard construction, and studios for modelling and drawing; the other included four class-rooms, a draughtsman's studio, laboratory of natural sciences—microscopy, dissection, natural history collections, aquariums containing many kinds of fishes and aquatic animals and insects, terrariums containing worms, beetles and other dwellers on land. There were 25 pupils, 17 teachers, including the two master craftsmen. The teachers, with the exception of the head master and mistress, M. and Mme. Faria, lived away from the school, and some, as one would naturally expect, were only part-time teachers.

The pupils' ages ranged from seven to fifteen years. They were all boys, to Faria's regret, for he is of opinion that co-education ensures "the normal evolution of both sexes," and establishes "a frank, wholesome and affectionate camaraderie between boys and girls attenuating and retarding the appearance of sexual nervous tensions," and by teaching young men and women "to know one another, to collaborate and to practise mutual aid" "furnishes one of the conditions most likely to lead to happy and healthy marriage." Faria thus explains his reason for failing to make his school co-educational:—

"In a country where educational questions are debated with extraordinary acerbity, and where there is absolutely no precedent for co-education, it would have been dangerous to complicate the launching of the new venture which would have added greatly to the difficulties (sufficiently numerous in any event) attendant on the foundation of the first new school in Belgium. But it has always been my intention to introduce co-education as soon as the school in virtue of its authority, its experience, the results to which it could point, should be in a position to carry through this reform."

Co-educationalists will regret that the fear of criticism should have deterred Faria from building up his school upon what he conceived to be the ideal foundation, but there is so much to admire and emulate in his experiment that we would not dwell on this defect, important though it is.

The pupils slept with open windows or in tents, and, rising early, began class work at 7.55 in summer and 7.40 in winter. Sometimes at their own desire they rose even earlier, and worked on the farm from five to seven a.m. But nine hours' sleep, including a period of rest at midday, were compulsory. On rising they had a cold bath, or a swim in the pond whenever the weather allowed of it.

The creation of physical energy was regarded as an indispensable means of attaining nervous and spiritual force. There were the usual organised games, games invented by the pupils, fencing, boxing, wrestling, and so on. The school physician kept careful records of the pupils' physical progress. A medical man, who was an enthusiast on physical culture, attended to give the lads breathing and muscular exercises, which they performed in the open air stripped to the waist. Special attention was paid to the development of muscles and groups of muscles. A lad who suffered from spinal curvature had been ordered by a Brussels doctor to wear an orthopœdic jacket, a cuirass of steel and iron to imprison the body; at Bierges he wore no cuirass; after a few months of these exercises the natural action of the muscles which were brought into play straightened the spine.

But except in such abnormal cases deliberate physical culture was reserved for the senior pupils. The formal exercises of the juniors lasted a few moments only, and for the rest they gained their physical culture as they lived and grew, by running, leaping, swimming, and in manual employment. This distinction between the work of the younger and elder pupil—the former incidental, the latter systematised, and the former gradually giving place to the latter—was apparent in all branches of study.

"The school for the child" was the ideal Faria set before himself. That being so, it was inevitable that, like those whose motto is "The industry for the worker," he should decide to establish control of the school by the pupils. The general assembly of the pupils at Bierges had almost sovereign rights; its decisions were subject only to the rarely exercised veto of Faria as headmaster. The pupils elected a president each term, whose duty was to supervise the whole conduct of affairs, to see that the decisions of the assembly were carried out, and to represent the pupils at the relatives' committees and the school governing committee. The pupils also appointed from amongst their number curators, who acted also as foremen, for the smithy, workshops, libraries, class rooms and laboratories, and officers to be responsible for the care of gardens and buildings, for the purchases and sales, overseer's work, book-keeping for the farm, and so on. A "doctor" for first aid was elected monthly to deal with injuries and illnesses and to preside over the pharmacy. In addition to the school magazine there was a school journal made up of cuttings from the daily papers. The editor of the school journal was elected monthly. Officers responsible for the order and cleanliness of bathroom, boot-room, cloak-room, and so on were elected weekly. The assembly of pupils prepared the code of rules by which the school was ordered; decreeing that if a pupil is habitually late he must start earlier; if he is dilatory in his work, he must work longer; if he destroys things he must pay for them to be replaced; if he leaves things about he must put them away. If a boy were wanting in brotherliness, cleanliness, application, or exactitude, he was given an office where he would have an opportunity to acquire these characteristics, and this was done tactfully and in order to help him, without the suggestion of imposing punishment.

"Do not discourage the children, but help them onward. Here you have the key word."

So says Faria. He assures us that the system gave a genuine and effective control to the pupils and complete freedom, subject to the rules of the assembly and directions of their own elected officers. As a result, he tells us, punishments, which he rightly regards as "degrading," "disappear." How is this? At the Little Commonwealth in Dorsetshire, where partial self-government obtains, punishments bulk very largely, and Mr. Homer Lane, the superintendent, regretfully admits they are much too severe. We may be told that the reason for the striking difference, in this respect, between the results at Bierges and in Dorsetshire is due to the fact that the Dorset children have been criminals, whilst at Bierges it was strictly insisted that no abnormal or sub-normal children should be admitted, and every newcomer was for a time on probation. We believe, however, that the cause of the difference lies, not here, but in the fact that the assembly at the Little Commonwealth has no other function than that of making rules for personal conduct, of trying alleged offences, and awarding punishment. The assembly of Faria's students, on the other hand, had the management of all the varied activities of the school, and life was so full of engrossing interests for them that they had small inclination either for wrongdoing on their own account, or for searching out the misdeeds of others. At the Little Commonwealth the building, farm work, house work, and so on, is performed by the inmates, as hired servants, who go here and come there when directed, in return for the wages paid to them; at Bierges the farm is a co-operative one, initiated and organised by the students themselves.

Even at Bierges the junior pupils from 7 to 9 years of age were considered too young for self-government. They lived at first under the patriarchal control of "Papa Faria" and "Maman Faria," but later they established a parliament of their own. A child of 9 thus records the incident in the school magazine:

THE YOUNG ONES.

"After the Christmas holidays the young ones of the school made up their minds to have a president of their own and set to work to elect one. It did not turn out well, for every one voted for himself; but when M. Faria explained to us that this was impossible, and was really bad manners, we took a second vote. I was elected president for one month and I suggested that each pupil do some one duty in our class. One would have the library, another the collections, etc. My comrades agreed. M. Faria has given us the care of some of the animals; we have to feed them, to take them out, etc. Our animals are a goat, some rabbits, two dogs, thirty hens, some pigeons. Every week we exchange animals and exchange the duties of our class room. . . . . "

On the basis of self-government, the system of education which appeals to the child's initiative, and incites him to learn of his own volition, followed naturally in every branch of study.

"What interests us," says Faria, "is what our scholars do on their own initiative; what they think on their own account."

All will agree with him that the object of study is not merely to acquire knowledge, but to discover how to use it. Nevertheless, only the courageous few amongst educators have, as yet, applied the doctrine.

In Faria's view, the primary foundation of all teaching should be the relationship of the child and the adult to the earth. He holds that to bring the child into the necessary actual relationship with nature and with labour, manual work is essential; therefore, agriculture and the care of animals, with all that pertains to the life of the farm, including the building and other essential crafts which naturally arise therefrom, were made the basis of the Bierges curriculum. The juniors found that geometry and algebra were necessary in planning the garden and in various simple constructive works; the seniors, aided by a commercial expert, studied bookkeeping with professional zeal and method in keeping the accounts of the co-operative farm initiated by the pupils. The pupils made boot cupboards, tables, towel-horses, blackboards, easels and bookcases; they built a rabbit-hutch, pig-sty, boat-house and stables, prepared a swimming bath, and installed a wireless telegraphy apparatus.

The construction of the swimming bath grew out of complaints that the bathing pond was slimy. Therefore the course of the stream which fed it was diverted, for the time being, the pond was emptied after a close study of hydraulics by means of a Dutch scoop made at the carpenter's bench. Then the basin was cleaned; a tedious job in which all lent their aid. Estimates and consultations with experts proved that to pave and cement the basin would be too expensive, it was therefore covered with sand.

The pupils desired to celebrate the completion of the swimming bath on the day of their nature festival of the birds and the trees; an idyllic function at which captive birds, bought by the pupils' own pocket money, were released from their cages, to the accompaniment of appropriate speeches and songs, composed and delivered by the pupils, who hung in the trees artificial nests made by the seniors and decorated by the juniors with inscriptions addressed to the birds. A delightful inauguration of the swimming bath; but a comparison of the yield of the stream with the size of the basin revealed the fact that the stream could not fill the bath in time. Therefore it was decided to convey water from the school supply to the bath, by means of wooden gutters, connected with the school water taps by india-rubber pipes. All was prepared when M. Faria informed the students that they must not proceed without permission of the Local Authorities, who had the power to fine the school for using water for an unauthorised purpose. The students, on applying to the Commune for the necessary permission, easily obtained it, and the swimming bath was ready on the appointed day.

The setting up of the wireless telegraphy station is described by one of the pupils, who gives a brief, clear explanation of the technicalities and records how the first message was received:—

"Great was our delight when, everything being ready, we heard the first 'crr . . . crr. . . .' from the Eiffel Tower. Here was a man more than 150 miles away, seated in his office, moving a little lever and about a thousandth of a second later a sound reached our ears. It was wonderful!"

He adds:—

We think of subscribing to a wireless telegraphy review which will keep us in touch with all the new modifications made in this recent invention in which we are greatly interested."

In the varied activities of the Bierges school good tools were always at the pupils' disposal, for these incite the student to accurate and painstaking accomplishment. Every craft and science was summoned to their aid, their desire to achieve tangible results leading them by easy stages to further academic study.

The school work at Bierges was divided into four stages:—

(a) Preparatory, 7 to 10 years.
(b) General, 11 to 14.
(c) Higher, 15 to 17.
(d) 18 to 19, special.

This classification was not arbitrary, but general, allowing for differences of aptitude apart from age. The classes were small: there were only twenty-five pupils altogether, and Faria intended that there should never be more than sixty. The classes were mobile; that is to say, a student might be placed, according to

(Continued on page 904.)

* "A New School in Belgium." By A. Faria de Vasconcellos, headmaster of the New School at Bierges les Waure, Belgium, with a preface by Adolphe Ferrier. Translated from the French by Eden and Cedar Paul.

A LEGEND OF TIR-NA-NOG. By May O'Callaghan

[*Being extracts from the story told in 3017 A.D. by an ex-member of a twentieth-century British Cabinet, who escaped to Tir-Na-nOg (the land of eternal youth) during the World War of that century. He returned from that far-off land just as the poet Ossian did, to find that a new civilisation had come to the world; he was immensely impressed by the success of the social conditions that prevailed under systems that, in his day, had been condemned as illegal and disloyal.*]

"It will seem strange to you children of the thirty-first century who own the earth and its produce, to hear of the privations of my time. The World War of the twentieth century by its extravagant use of humanity, brought great want to the workers. The wealthy, for whom the war was being waged, felt no shortage of food, no luxury was missing. Can you wonder then that when noble Lords were given control of the daily necessaries of life, that blunder after blunder was committed? To rectify these blunders, endless committees were formed. The committee was the panacea for every evil . . . . The Food Control Committee heard that there was a tea shortage and straightway handed that commodity to another Committee. Never having bought tea, the noble Lord in control asked his wife, who asked her cook what they paid for tea. Hearing that 5s. was the usual price for the servants' hall his lordship believed he was doing the poor a favour by fixing 4s. per lb. as the maximum price. He bemoaned the ingratitude of those workers grumbling who had never paid more than 2s.

"When war broke out, the Government thought that feeding stuffs must be economised. Cattle eat very much, therefore let us have them killed and made into tinned meat for our soldiers! But a day came when people stood in long queues for butter, you will hardly realise that queues were first started as a means for the non-monied class to procure cheap theatre seats; but then it developed into a method of obtaining the necessaries of life. The Press commented upon it; but the solution of equal distribution, such as you have adopted, never was entertained by any Cabinet. I confess, old remnant of a capitalist world that I am, that had you youngsters been able to make your voices heard, much time would have been saved, much hardship avoided. . . . .

"Mothers of babies were refused milk. Again the Controller waved his magic wand —butter disappeared from the market, the price of milk was doubled and short rations of it were measured out, except in such urgent cases as a public dinner to a Cabinet Minister, or a Lord Mayor's Banquet . . . . To procure sugar people were obliged to give their exact names and addresses, together with age and day of birth. No reason was given for this strange procedure, but people concluded that it was in return for the number which was conferred on them . . . . The Food Control Committee occupied a palatial mansion —manned by equally palatial young women. I am told that they were so busy helping to justify their existence and make the food scarcity a reality, that there was little time between meals for office work. They were mostly ladies of means, who spent their weekly salaries of £3 and £4 on cigarettes and afternoon teas. The Press was much concerned that they should receive all the praise due to them and articles appeared from time to time, to impress on the workers sacrifices made by these ladies, who did not go on strike as did munition workers—and were they not serving their country equally?

"Edicts were issued, urging the feckless poor to economise, speakers went about the country trying to encourage a spirit of patriotism in the people—conveying to them that they were expected to reduce their capacity for eating the necessaries of life. . . . You of this new era have scrapped the capitalist, your histories are full of denunciations of him and his class; but my book must teach you how unjust you have been in your judgment of him. I see now that we in our day knew not the meaning of such things as the Bolshevik revolution. You have proved how right they were, whilst we sternly denounced them. Why? Because they were not of our kind i.e., Capitalists. . .

"When the twentieth century was still in her teens and what you deem the native barbarism of humanity, had not been eliminated, war was considered the only means of settling disputes. It was thought noble to kill and progress was measured by the perfection of the means of killing. All brains were concentrated on devising the most effective and deadly means of destruction. . . . Some men, you may say of superior culture —probably your ancestors—refused to bear arms, and were called conscientious objectors. For presuming to have a conscience—you must remember I am speaking of bygone days, before, as you would say, any real liberty or civilisation existed—men were tortured in order to bring them to a normal way of thinking. In those days there was a Parliament, but although C.O.s could sit there as representatives, they could not vote—the vote was reserved for ex-criminals, soldiers and sailors of nineteen, and women over thirty. Woman had only been discovered, hitherto she had been told that her place was the home—necessity changed that to the munition factory. There she was of much use, as she worked for low pay, and had not as yet, joined a trade union. As a reward for her patriotism, and as an experiment she was given a vote, though strange to relate, most women in munition factories were under thirty, and the remainder could not comply with the property qualification! Some were disabled soldiers' wives, who had been given poor law relief owing to lack of pensions and were thus also disqualified! All women, even soldiers' wives with large families, were urged to work at munitions; their children could be cared for at Creches where noble ladies worked voluntarily—and to give good example, ladies of leisure went out to work in factories—they drove there in their motors and were satisfied with 15s. a week. Their children were not neglected, for extra nurses were taken on to ensure that their mothers' absence would bring them no injury—oh, they were full of patriotism! You of this new era have quite a strange conception of the word patriotism! In those days the word was used differently. A patriot could never speak of peace, or of liberty for small natons except in other Empires, or profiteering, though he might be making millions out of the war. The unpatriotic were those who wanted what they termed peace, liberty, and fair play, they were usually interned as being dangerous to the safety of the Realm. . . .

"The Irish rebels—whom you have celebrated in history and song as heroes and forerunners of the new era—were greatly punished for assuming that when the Government made war to liberate small nations, that Ireland would be liberated. Great Britain tried in vain to teach her that she was not a small nation, and that she was lacking in self-respect for supposing that she was. Now Bohemia was different, when that patriot Masaryck took refuge in our country, and planned to free his people from the Austrian yoke, we welcomed him as an honoured guest.

"I can appreciate the difficulty you of this new century have in thinking from our point of view. But before I return to the land that knows no sorrows, I felt I must speak truthfully—I had little chance of that as a Cabinet Minister. The people in my day were of less stern stuff than you and had therefore to be handled gently. . . . Our Government could not tell people that the National Register meant Military Conscription for men, that the sugar card meant industrial conscription for all, including women and growing children or that the War was one of conquest! No, we preached the contrary on all occasions until most of us believed that if any land was right, England was. Oh, why did my colleagues die? How, I would love that Lloyd George, Carson and the rest could see how futile were our labours, how accursed our system which wanted to control all things even thought and conscience. I see, alas too late, that Liberty, Equality and Justice are impossible under Capitalism. Only real Socialism such as you enjoy makes what were once catch-words—reality!"

Dr. MONTESSORI AND HER EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

By Muriel Matters

One cannot give an outline of this new educational method without reference to the founder, "the Dottoressa," as her students call her. Born in Rome, the only child of an "unclouded union," as she herself expresses the fact in the dedication of "Pedagogical Anthropology," she grew to womanhood with a heart and brain harmonised—"fruit of the spirit of love and contentment" with which her parents inspired her. Were it necessary to look beyond her form and face, one has proof of her perfect heritage in the contribution she has made to the world on behalf of less fortunate children. She was one, if not the first, of the women Suffragists and Socialists of Italy, and was also destined to be the first woman doctor of her country.

After graduating, she became the assistant doctor in the Psychiatric Clinic in the University of Rome. She specialised in children's diseases, and became interested in the idiot children in consequence of her visits to insane asylums to tend the sick and in search of subjects for the clinics. Following up her interest, she became conversant with the special educational method that Edward Séquin had devised and experimented with in Paris, and later in America, half a century earlier. She came to the independent opinion that "mental deficiency presented rather a pedagogical, rather than a medical, problem." So she began her own preparation for the rôle of teacher. The result of, and preparation for, this is told in her two works, "The Montessori Method" and "Pedagogical Anthropology."*

One striking incident of her work amongst the defective children was when she entered "my idiots"—as she pathetically called them—for an examination with normal children, and they passed successfully! This led to the conclusion that the difference in the methods employed by her for the defectives and by the teachers of the normal children must be very great. For why had the normal child not done better?

Evidently, in the one case, "they had been helped in the psychic development, and the normal children had, instead, been suffocated, held back." This and other experiments by Dr. Montessori drew the attention of the educational world to her efforts. She passed from experiments with defectives to experiments with normal children, believing that her methods were not peculiarly suited for, and should not therefore be restricted to, defectives, for they contained educational principles more rational than those in use. The results were astonishing, and have since been emulated by students of the child throughout the world. A close study of her works and actual contact with demonstrations by herself and her students convince us that we are in the presence of a Darwin in Education—for she has given—as the famous zoologist did—a new direction to science. Darwin, in his study of living things, proceeded to investigate the *origin* of species; Montessori, in her study (in the complete sense of the word) of the child, speculates not on the origin, but on the ultimate destiny of the race, and thus conceives it to be her duty to trace out a path that will lead to the regeneration of humanity. In her own words—"if some practical line of action is to result, it will undoubtedly have to be exerted upon *humanity in the course of development*; in other words, at that period of life when the organism, being still in the course of formation, may be effectively directed, and consequently corrected, in its mode of growth. Accordingly, the possible solution of the most momentous social problems, such as those of criminality, predisposition to disease and degeneration, may be hoped for only within the limits of that space which society sets aside for guiding the new generations in their development."

And so she likens the mission of the teacher—and this cannot be accomplished by merely reforming the school and the educational methods in a limited way—as the "proud duty of universal

Dr. MARIA MONTESSORI

motherhood, destined to protect all mankind, the normal and abnormal alike. This is a reform, not only of the school, but of society as a whole, because through the redeeming and protective labours of pedagogy, the lowest human manifestations of degeneration and disease will disappear; and, more important still, it will make it henceforth impossible for normal human beings, conceived from germs that promise strength and beauty, little by little to lose that beauty and strength along the rough paths of life, through which no one has hitherto had the knowledge to guide them."

Maria Montessori has in truth and humility followed the example of Christ, who took a little child and stood it in the midst of the worldly wise men. Throughout her book such passages as this occur: "I watched them, seeking to understand the secret of these souls, of whose greatness I had been so ignorant! As I stood in meditation among the eager children the discovery that it was knowledge they loved filled me with wonder and made me think of the greatness of the human soul!" And she who went to that almost unknown kingdom (that of the child) has returned with knowledge that acts as a beacon to those of us who follow the track she has laid. We must as a result of contact with her hear a voice for ever in our ears, as though she cried, "Hands off! (in every sense) you parents, guardians and teachers, lest you should offend or transgress the rights of one of these little ones"! Her literal utterance of the words "Bambino" (baby child), "Bambini" (children) conveys more of mother love than I have ever got from most other women, even though they cover their children with kisses. One can only hope to indicate the nature of her love for the child, so deep it is, so tender, yet withal so utterly free from sentimentality.

Something of the completeness of her idea for human regeneration one gets from her inaugural address at the opening of the second Casa dei Bambini (Children's House) in the poverty-stricken quarter of San Lorenzo in Rome. And nothing ever spoken is a clearer, stronger indictment of the social system than her summary of the conditions under which the masses of the poor live *isolated from the rest of the community*. It is a modern condition, this isolation, as she indicates: "In the Middle Ages leprosy was isolated: The Catholics isolated the Hebrews in the Ghetto; *but poverty was never considered a peril and an infamy so great that it must be isolated.*" Her thought of the woman question, too, has been long and deep, like that of the social question. It transcends, though it does not ignore, the demand for political enfranchisement. "The new woman, like the butterfly come forth from the chrysalis, shall be liberated from all those attributes which once made her desirable to man, only as the source of the material blessings of existence. She shall be, like man, an individual, a free human being, a social worker; and, like man, she shall seek blessing and repose within the house, the house which has been reformed and communised. She shall wish to be loved for herself, and not as a giver of comfort and repose. She shall wish a love free from every form of servile labour. The goal of human love is not the egotistical end of assuring its own satisfaction—it is the sublime goal of multiplying the forces of the free spirit, making it almost divine, and, within such beauty and light, perpetuating the species." This ideal love is made incarnate by Nietzsche, in the woman of Zarathustra, who conscientiously wished her son to be better than she. "Why do you desire me?" she asks the man. "Perhaps because of the perils of a solitary life?" "In that case, go far from me. I wish the man who has conquered himself, who has made his soul great. I wish the man who has conserved a clean and robust body. I wish the man who desires to unite with me, body and soul, to create a son! A son better, more perfect, stronger, than any created heretofore!"

(This is the first of a series of articles.)

* Publishers, William Heinemann.

ITALY AND HER FUTURE. By Silvio Corio

At the reopening of Parliament, after the Italian defeat, in a declaration signed by the 43 Socialist Deputies, it was said: "Those who may attempt to trade upon our attitude would do well to remember that we are to-day—as yesterday—the comrades of Karl Liebknecht and Friedrick Adler; the sworn enemies of violence and annexations."

These words fairly give the position of the Italian Socialists at the present moment, who were against the War, when (though slightly and under favourable circumstances) the Italian Army was invading Austria, and who are against the War now, when the Austrian forces are again in possession of Italian provinces which they evacuated only fifty-one years ago almost to a day.

The upward forces of Humanity are not determined, the international solidarity of workers is not destroyed, by the temporary violence of armed force.

Six years ago the Italian Government, pursuing the empty dream of a still emptier Imperialism, went buccaneering to Tripoli, and, after having killed or captured Enver Pasha several times over, hoisted its flag on that African coast; to-day the Turkish flag floats high from the castle of Udine, the former headquarters of the Italian Army!

The fortunes of war—waged under compulsion by and at the expense of the workers—are not the signs by which we can measure the only thing that now matters in Europe: The emancipation of the workers from the serfdom of the wage system.

It is not opportune to-day to discuss on whose shoulders will finally rest the responsibility of the war; we would even run the risk of under-stating our case. Much as we know concerning the Imperialistic aims of the Italian Government, thanks to the Russian publication of secret treaties, much more is still obscure and uncertain. This, however, can be safely said: What little there was of Press-fostered enthusiasm for the War in Italy has totally disappeared; the longing for peace is intense, and it intensifies every day; and a feeling is growing that the day of reckoning is not very far off.

Owing to the systematic suppression of free speech, of free Press, even of free inter-Allied communications, little is known abroad of the suffering of the Italian working class; still less do they know of the fight that other democracies are putting up for the cause of real freedom. "We live," a well-informed Italian wrote the other day, "intellectually as in a cellar."

In Italy—as elsewhere—we see a retrogression to mediæval forms of economics: the State uppermost, controller of everything, food, industrial production, transport; the masses, without independent political and economic organisations of their own, unable to make themselves heard.

Meanwhile, Italian Mayfair, between dances, condescendingly dons the holy habit of the Red Cross.

". . . . when home on leave you smile at us,
You even stop to pat us on the back."

Italian Park Lane is as callous as ever towards Italian East End. Towering above all, Rome, inept, ignorant, corrupt, with "cushy jobs" and profiteering; heroic fountain pens for knock-out blows; Bolos.

What of the future? The future, Anatole France said, is unknown even to those who help in the making of it. Will the admonition of the errors of the present War work deep into the soul of the Italian peasant, and cause him to demand the land which is *his*? The worker of the town to demand the factory which is *his*? Will they return home, and fight their "hereditary enemy?" or—when Peace comes—will despondency prevail and a desire for peace and rest? Again, taking the sorrowing road of emigration—voluntary, beaten exiles—will the Italian workers go abroad, seeking, as in former years, the bread denied at home; or, at last, make a stand and try, earnestly try, to conquer their native land? They will have to take that stand, for the alternative is—begging at the doorsteps of the churches, forgotten heroes of a bankrupt nation.

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ANOTHER WAR CHRISTMAS.

Must the soldiers spend yet another Christmas in the trenches? Must they still face death in the mud and slime on these grey, cold winter days?

Pathetic figures of weary ill-clad women stand in the queues, or hurry disconsolate from shop to shop. Must they suffer still more grievously the pinch of perpetual privation; less food, less warmth—always less food, less warmth?

Lord Lansdowne has cautiously sounded a note, half questioning, half warning; would it not be well, he suggests, to make some slight move towards Peace? Not one of his prominent capitalistic colleagues has followed his lead.

It was thought that Mr. Asquith might second Lord Lansdowne, but he has not done so. Days have passed, in which perhaps he hesitated, and now he has come out and said, as definitely as is in him, that he desires no move towards Peace; that whilst he and his colleague, Sir Edward Grey, are the two men most responsible for bringing this country into the War, he regrets nothing. Although, as he rightly says, the vast majority of the population of the world is now involved in the war struggle; although the War is steadily "draining away and drying up the vital resources of the future," he is determined that it shall go on to the bitter end. With unimaginative cruelty he declares:

"We are all exultant at the magnificent success that has attended our Armies in Palestine, which has enabled General Allenby to do what Richard I. was never able to do—namely, to plant the British flag over Palestine."

He speaks of "the panorama of the War" and of its "encouraging and heartening spectacles"—oh, for the day when the people shall be freed from the grip of such elderly professional politicians with their calculating materialistic outlook in which the workers are but pawns!

The Russian Bolsheviks are struggling against tremendous odds. The reports from Russia are confused and contradictory, but we are learning to think that no news from Russia means good news for the people's cause. It is certain that whether the Bolsheviks have a clear majority or not, the various Socialist parties command a vast majority in the Russian Parliament. This fact gives cause for great encouragement and rejoicing. With the majority of the people behind them, the Socialists must inevitably triumph before long. The British and American Ambassadors have been making flattering speeches to the Russians; Sir George Buchanan said that when Russia has a Government representing the majority of the Russian people the Allies will discuss War aims with her. This means that the Socialist power in Russia is recognised by its opponents.

The reports of German replies to the Russian negotiations are conflicting and extravagant; we await authentic news. But there is little doubt that the Russians have scored a success in winning the agreement that German troops shall not be rushed from the East to obtain an advantage on the West during the cessation of hostilities.

The Russians have opened the way to peace; the situation awaits a move from the peoples of the other belligerent nations; but the move does not come.

In this country the movement needs awakening. See the agenda of the Labour Party Conference, loaded with palliatives, without a hint of Socialism, which alone can emancipate the workers! Read the declaration of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railwaymen's Member of Parliament, that to repudiate the War Loan, with its exorbitant interest, would be wicked, and that a levy on capital would be injurious to labour.

The British Labour movement is, alas, non-Socialist; the Socialist movement must take new deep breaths into its lungs, gain courage, reach out more widely, imbue itself more deeply with the spirit of Democracy, the love and understanding of the common people. Socialists must go with a surer faith to the cruelly exploited soldier, the overburdened mother, the worker whose vitality is sapped with perpetual toil. They must meet these with a faith that shall kindle anew the faith in those who are weary and discouraged, and shall light for the first time the flame of hope and enthusiasm in the hearts of those who have never known these things.

Great is the task of arousing the people to the love of the Socialism which can save them, and to the need for immediate peace.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

ARMY REGULATION OF VICE

We call the urgent attention of our readers to Commander Wedgwood's question concerning an alleged statement by the French Military Authorities, in reply to a protest from the townspeople, that the British Authorities have opened a brothel at Cayeux-sur-Mer for the use of British convalescent soldiers. Every woman's; every progressive organisation in the country should send its protest to the Government. Every parent of a son in the Army should do likewise. What will be the feeling of parents whose daughters are in the W.A.A.C. in France?

POLICE SUPERVISION OF SOLDIERS' WIVES AND WIDOWS

In 1915 an outcry was raised against the proposal to place soldiers' wives and widows under police supervision. Ostensibly the proposal was withdrawn, but if any complaint is made against the character or conduct of a soldier's wife (and as everyone knows that a soldier's wife's allowance may be stopped if a complaint is made, some busybody is likely to complain of her), the local police-constables are sent to investigate the matter. The woman is given no opportunity to reply to the charges against her. In a case that has come to our notice, a young wife, who lives with her mother, and works hard all day to maintain her child, has had her allowance stopped on the allegation that she is a prostitute. The charge is palpably absurd, but the authorities, in communicating the allegation to a member of the local War Pensions Committee, have marked the letter "Private," and the recipient feels bound not to disclose the facts either to the woman whose allowance has been stopped or to the public.

THE CENSORSHIP OF OPINION

On December 10th Sir George Cave announced a modification of Defence of the Realm Regulation 27c, which requires leaflets and pamphlets relating to the War to be passed by the Director of the Press Bureau. He announced that the leaflets and pamphlets would not now be "passed" by the Press Bureau, but must be submitted to it 72 hours before printing, publication or distribution, in order that the Censor may have an opportunity to place his ban upon it. In case of dispute the case will be decided by the courts.

The modification appears, in effect, to be a distinction without a difference, for the Censor will almost certainly prohibit the leaflets and pamphlets which he would have refused to pass. This issue is of very grave importance. We would remind our readers that "government rests on the consent of the governed."

PEACE SOCIETY LETTER

Many years ago the Peace Society instituted the observance of the Sunday preceding Christmas Day as "Peace Sunday." Each subsequent year as it approaches, a circular-letter is forwarded by the Society to clergymen and ministers throughout the country, urging them to devote some portion of the day's services to directing the thoughts of their congregations towards peace and goodwill. This year the Peace Society complied with Regulation 27c of the Defence of the Realm Act, and submitted its circular to the Press Bureau. The Press Bureau declines to pass the proposed letter, which runs as follows:—

Reverend and Dear Sir,—The coming of the fourth Christmas since the outbreak of War provides an unique opportunity for directing the thoughts of the Nation towards Peace and Goodwill among men. May we therefore remind you, as in former years, that Peace Sunday falls on December 23rd, and cordially invite you to join in its observance? We are living in one of the most decisive hours of the world's history, when even the existence of Christian civilisation is in jeopardy, and yet comparatively few seem to recognise that what we are witnessing is the natural consequences of an almost universal trust in material power and the acceptance of a philosophy in which Christ has been given no place. There are, however, in all countries many who hoped great things from the War, but have now seen that war itself can do little to remove the false ambitions, ancient hatreds, and desperate fears which have turned Europe into a vast cemetery, and made world peace so far impossible. To these our Appeal must be made, the meaning of Christ explained, the nature of His Cross revealed, for only a new love of our Lord and a new faith in God are sufficient for these things. Appalled by the sufferings and horror of the present struggle, distracted in mind and tortured in heart as the peoples are, is it too much to hope that the warring nations may even now turn from their battle cries, their threats of vengeance, their boasts of victory—all of which mean more graves and further sacrifices—to find in Christ the solvent for all their ills? Upon Christian Ministers and Teachers a heavy responsibility rests, and, without intruding upon the private arrangements or convictions of anyone, we venture respectfully and in Christ's name to solicit your co-operation in this simultaneous effort to promote Universal Peace. Praying that all our decisions may be in accord with God's Holy Will, and that the Divine Spirit may lead us back again into the path of Peace from which, like lost sheep, so many in these last days have gone astray. I am, on behalf of the Committee, Yours in Christ's Name, HERBERT DUNNICO, General Secretary.

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HUMANIST EDUCATION

(concluded from page 904.)

ing on the outbreak of War, this lad came to England seeking work:—

"It was not easy to find. . . . At length I received a letter from a Scottish merchant who had business relations with my father, telling me that one of his employees had enlisted and that I could have the vacant place . . . I made my way to Stirling . . . I took a bed-sitting room. You can walk the length of it in two strides, and can cross it in one and a half. The bed is eighteen and a half times too large, and the pictures were awful. The last window looks over neighbouring, roofs and chimneys and also over the stables of the adjoining house. . . . The landlady does my room and cooks for me. I pay fifty-six shillings or seventy francs a month for lodging, board, and light. No fire, except on Sunday evenings, as it would be too expensive.

"The firm for which I work deals in grain, hay and straw. There are ten of us in the office, and we work from half-past eight in the morning to the same hour in the evening, and sometimes to nine or half-past. The only breaks are half an hour for dinner and twenty minutes for tea. The rest of the time we work without intermission, and very hard indeed. We send out from 150 to 200 letters daily, and buy and sell from 10,000 to 13,00 cwt. of grain every week. Add 100 to 150 tons of hay every week and you can imagine how busy we all are. . . . In the morning I work in the office posting books and examining samples, until half-past eleven; then I go on my bicycle to visit neighbouring farms, three or four miles away, to buy newly-threshed corn. At one or half-past, I have dinner, and then set out for more distant farms, buying corn and hay if there is any, selling oilcake, bran, chemical manures, etc. At half-past five o'clock I return to Stirling, have tea, and stay at the office till quite late. In the evenings, three times a week, I give lessons to civilians and officers who are going to France. The officers pay nothing, but the civilians pay enough to eke out my salary, so that I am no expense to my parents."

So this is how one of the glorious youths from Bierges was sweated; his highly trained faculties heedlessly dulled and exploited by a sordid commercialism. The youth continues:—

"I felt as though I were quite alone in the middle of a gloomy forest."

But he rises above his irksome surroundings. In a subsequent letter he tells that he is rising at five each morning in order to win two hours' work in a garden, the produce of which he will give away. His appallingly long hours of toil are therefore lengthened, but he has regained touch with nature and the outdoor life to which he has been trained. In a third letter he announces that he has enlisted. By now, poor lad, he probably is dead. Parents and educators may strive to make school life ideal, but their pupils must pass from it into a barbarous world.

In everything that belongs to the living present, not to the dead, changeless past, cause of criticism must be found whilst human brains strive after new truths and further development. So with Faria's New School. Criticise such experiments as we may, we must recognise that Faria's School and others of its kind are hopeful forerunners of the new age of humanist Collectivism, the manifestations of which are gradually appearing, not merely in political and industrial struggles, but in every region of thought and endeavour.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

* * * *

Join the Young Socialist Club, age 11—15.—For particulars, write A.D., 420 Commercial Road, Stepney, E.1.

* * * *

Fifty thousand more men were voted for the Navy on December 10th. That suggests more naval battles and the loss of more lives at sea.

HUMANIST EDUCATION

(continued from page 900)

aptitude, in a lower class for certain subjects; in a higher class for others. He was expected to spend more time on the subjects in which he was weak than on those in which he was an adept. This rule, if rigorously applied, would lead to much weariness and rebellion in the breasts of little students, but at Faria's the danger was probably avoided, since his whole effort was to arouse interest, "to instruct as little as possible," and to present nothing to the child "until his intellectual development renders him competent to understand it."

Boys entered the carpenter's shop at 10 and the smithy at 14. The subjects of general instruction were uniform and obligatory in the preparatory stage, and included native and foreign languages, science, mathematics, history, and geography. No foreign language was begun before a fair knowledge of the native tongue had been acquired, and in no case before 12 years of age. At 14 years Latin was started; at 15, Greek. Between 14 and 17 new branches of study were introduced and chosen with a view to the predestined career. Between 17 and 18 instruction was specialised in preparation for after life.

Zoology and geology were the first of the sciences to be studied; Zoology, first from the external characteristics and habits of the animals which could be examined close at hand; geology, too, from the immediate surroundings. The study of history and geography arose naturally out of these two earlier studies. The dog had its primitive ancestors and its cousins overseas. There were far away lands and times where certain animals were held sacred. The quiet streams of Belgium might be compared with the torrents of Niagara, and notable rivers like the Nile and the Rhine; and on Belgium soil could be studied the changes wrought during æons of time. The school-house might be compared with the dwellings of other peoples and other epochs. Thus the things which the child knows with a vivid every-day familiarity were used as a starting point for taking him on journeys through both space and time. The children were helped to pass swiftly through the successive stages of human development, studying both the habits and customs of extant savage tribes and of their own primitive Belgian ancestors, and being given the opportunity of personal rediscovery of knowledge and research into the past. Faria forbade the use of digests and compendiums; he desired the students to select and discover for themselves. He protests:

"When an experiment is merely made by the teacher in the presence of the students there is not, properly speaking, any instruction in experimental science at all."

To prove the world round, the Bierges students re-enacted Foucault's experiment from the casting of the bulb at the smithy forge and the final burning of the thread by which they had fastened the pendulum till they were ready to set it going on its long oscillating swing. Phenomena were reproduced experimentally in the laboratory, then examined in their actuality in sand dunes, mines, grottos and railway cuttings. Visits were made to museums and historical relics, to mines, factories and docks. Two days a week, four days a month were devoted to excursions, and three weeks every year to more distant excursions. One of these was to the Duchy of Luxembourg, another to the Belgian coast, and overseas to Dover.

Just as the management of the school was confided to the students, so, too, the initiation and management of the courses of study fell to them. The curator elected by the students had full charge of the workshop. He was responsible for the order and for keeping of tools, for the ordering of new materials, and for the keeping of accounts, for arranging the rotation of lessons and the disposition of working places; also for transmitting complaints from pupils and from teachers to the school management committee.

Of the two weekly manual classes, one was devoted to individually chosen work; the other to work chosen by the class as a whole and usually arising out of some general work on which the whole school was engaged by decision of the assembly. Thus, when the cowhouse was to be built, the drawing class surveyed the land, making careful geometrical drawings.

When any work of construction was contemplated, a student was commissioned by his fellows to prepare plans and specifications, detailing the kinds and quantities of materials to be used, the cost of these, the length of time required for the work, and the cost, if outside labour were to be hired. When plans and specifications ready, they were submitted for criticism by the teacher and the class and amended as required. In preparation for school journeys, one or more students were commissioned to make smilar investigations.

How successful were such methods of instruction may be judged from the fact that, just as the students had their game clubs, so they had their historical and geographical societies, which amplified and extended the class work, preparing lectures and exhibits to illustrate by paintings, maps and models the beings and things of the past.

Though the activities were so varied, concentration was obtained by correlating various branches of study. If the juniors were studying a group of animals, they did so from various aspects, learning through them zoology, geography, history, physics, and chemistry, and drawing, reading and writing about them. If the students were studying respiration, they learnt also, by chemistry, the properties of oxygen and carbon and the composition of bone, and, by physics, something of lever action, to explain the movements of the skeleton. They would work for 45 minutes on one branch of study; then, after ten or fifteen minutes' recreation, return to the same object, approaching it through another branch of study.

We have said little of spelling and grammar, those arts which most children have found so tedious and difficult to learn. Spelling at Bierges was not specially taught, except in the case of those who were unusually backward and whose fault was corrected by the copying of texts. Grammar was only studied as occasion arose until a certain degree of maturity and the knowledge of foreign languages enabled the pupils to make comparisons between languages and to learn something of their history.

One would judge from Faria's book that the tendency of the school was scientific rather than literary; practical rather than emotional. Faria says that the pupils went to Brussels to exhibitions of sculpture, to hear the best music, to see classical and fine modern plays, that the school was adorned with reproductions of paintings and statuettes, and that the pupils practised the various arts. But their compositions, which he quotes extensively, betray scientific knowledge, accuracy, common sense and much attention to detail rather than sensibility to beauty. By far the most pictorially descriptive and imaginative composition is by a nine-year-old-boy:—

A COUNTRY SCENE IN PORTUGAL.

It is a fine day and the peasant women are washing linen in the river, using little wooden frames in which to kneel at their task. They never go alone, for while at work they keep an eye on their sheep pasturing in the meadow. The clothes already washed are stretched out to dry on the grass. Houses can be seen in the distance. The sun blazes. The running water is saying: "Glug, glug, glug," whilst the linen, as it is rubbed in the water murmurs, "vv. . , vv. . , vv. . ."—Mary, have you finished your washing? Give it to me to put in the basket." . . . In some places the stream is wider than in others. Birds are singing, flowers are growing, and smell sweet. The women are reflected in the water. What a glorious day for washing! The clothes are dried and bleached in a trice."

What a wealth of accurate observation there is there, even to the "vv. . , vv. . , vv. . ." of the linen and the water's "glug, glug, glug"!

Faria's pupils were neither vegetarians nor anti-vivisectionists; they studied anatomy by dissection, and preserved dead specimens of living things: tadpoles in spirit, beetles on pins. Is it not possible to study anatomy and natural history more naturally and less callously? A newer school will, we hope, discover that possibility and learn to observe more from the living animal than from the dead "specimen."

The sex question, Faria tells us, was treated at his school "tactfully and frankly." He adds:

"A child living in the country undergoes in these matters an easy and wholesome initiation. The breeding of animals, gardening, flower culture, afford him a natural introduction to phenomena and problems of this character. His teacher leads him to observe these phenomena and explains them doing so with the same simplicity with which the pupil is led to observe and to understand the other phenomena of organic nature. When he is old enough, our medical men advise him concerning all the problems of individual and social hygiene bearing upon the matter.

So far, well. But the extract from a pupil's essay telling of the excitement of the pupils to be present to see the calf born, with Faria's note that, though on the first occasion the event took place whilst they slept, the pupils were present at a subsequent calving, leads us to ask whether here, too, the teaching was not somewhat brutal; whether the fact of the poor beast's suffering was not overlooked; and whether the teachers might not tactfully have insinuated the idea that even a poor cow has the right to be shielded when she is in labour from the prying eyes of any who are not actually engaged in serving her? Though we admit that a frank callousness may be infinnitely better than unwholesome mystery, we urge that a kindly humanity may be allowed to refine away the callousness, leaving frankness alone. Co-education and the co-operation of women teachers might have set the matter right.

Faria rightly dwells on the social value to the pupils of co-operative manual labour, the sharing of the roughest and hardest tasks of the farm, the taking turns to feed and water the animals, to turn them out to grass, to litter them at night, to clean out their habitations. Such experiences should banish for ever the habit which the well-to-do have acquired of looking down upon the labourer:—

"What an excellent thing it is that they should learn to feel and to understand how all kinds of work, even those which are most distasteful and most humble, contribute generously to the success of every enterprise. No longer do they give themselves airs, no longer are they animated by false pride, for they now have a healthy appreciation of the value of work and the worker."

We hope that it may be so with the students of the New Schools; but though youth is proverbially thoughtless, and though it is not good that young hearts should be too tender lest they suffer too much pain, still we are surprised that amongst the various accounts by his pupils of visits to mines, factories and works of construction which Faria publishes, in one only does a sympathetic reference to the hard conditions of the workers occur, and that reference is but cursory, and is called forth by conditions of acute and exceptional hardship of which the writer had himself a brief experience. Here it is:

"At the end of the main gallery we entered a seam which was barely 2 feet thick, so that we had to slide on our backs and sometimes on our sides. In these narrow seams the miners' work is difficult. They look black and tired." After visiting other seams and passing through some more galleries we got back to the cage and were soon above ground again. We had a wash and a shower-bath, redressed and went away, having enjoyed our visit very much."

Perhaps it is only a chance that Faria has not chosen extracts in which the student-toilers have displayed some solidarity with other workers, some recognition of the fact that the conditions of the mass of lads of their own age, who have already become wage-earners, compare most unfavourably with their own. One does not expect such realisation from other schoolboys, but these lads had been taught to work, and as a part of their instruction had been taken to see work as it is carried on in actual industry. Yet the reasons of their callousness are obvious. Even the co-operative farm is not a Socialist enterprise; it is run on a basis of interest and profit; whoever desires a share in it must buy one, and his portion of the fruits of the joint enterprise depends, not upon his labour, but upon the amount of money that he has invested. How illogical are parents and teachers! They desire to instil in their young people the ideals and sentiments of Socialism; but they teach their pupils to base their faith upon the capitalist system, which is the negation of Socialism. What chance has the thin veneer of Socialistic sentiment when the structure of ideas on which it is overlaid are those of capitalism?

And what chance has the veneer of internationalism? Faria expresses fine international sentiments:—

The child which has been led to re-discover knowledge and technical competence by personal effort is in a position to understand how much effort has been necessary for generation after generation in order to bring humanity to the stage now reached. . . . . The continuity of human struggle, the persistent love of truth which inspires scientific research—these things will have become real to the child. It will have learned, too, that in sharing the delights and difficulties of this upward evolution no country can take precedence of the others, for scientific endeavour is social endeavour. . . . human endeavour. Each nation contributes its own share to the construction of the joint edifice."

Finely and truly put; but Faria, in his references to the War, seems to imply that he has swallowed the official version whole; a strange feeble thing for a man of so scientific and constructive a mind to do. As a result of this War, men of his type will find it their duty to study politics and economics as earnestly as they have hitherto studied natural science!

Faria's account of the moral instruction of his pupils is most interesting. To religious instruction he makes no reference. He explains that in his view "morality and sociality are inseparable"; and that physical and mental training should equip the pupil with virile qualities, with steadfastness, patience and the love of truth, making him "a man master of himself, a self-governor and one whose heart vibrates in response to a sense of solidarity with his fellows." Of set moral teaching there was none; but just as the initiative of the pupil was appealed to in other branches of study, so in this. Says Faria: "We ask him to set out from his own experience, so that he may organise his moral life for himself." And as in other branches of study, so also in moral education, the co-operative spirit of the class is called forth. Each term a report of the pupil's work is sent to his parents, and this report, like the work itself, is the joint product of his individual self, his teacher and his class. His progress in moral effort, his proficiency in orderliness, care of the person, companionableness, straightforwardness, and so on, as well as in manual and intellectual labours, is compared, not with the progress of his comrades, but with his own. The values are assessed by numerical variation. First, the pupils is asked to express his view of the matter, then his class-mates, then the teacher, the resultant report registers the mean between the three views.

The method foreshadows tremendous possibilities; studied in this way, morality bids fair to attain to the dignity of a science of which no well-bred person will dare to be ignorant!

Bierges School is no more; the War has driven its teachers into exile and dispersed its students. What has become of those fortunate youths who enjoyed its wondrous training? Faria reproduces the letters of one of his senior students, who had spent two years at Bierges, and whose development there was "exceptionally gratifying." Leav-

(Concluded in col. 3, page 903.)

CONCERNING THE REFERENDUM. By Bernard Shaw

I have been called to account in the DREADNOUGHT for an answer I gave at King's Hall on November 9th. I was asked whether the problem of making democracy a reality instead of the sham it is at present could not be solved by the Referendum. I replied that the effect of substituting the Referendum for the representative system would be such a paralysis of legislation that the country would have to be governed by Orders in Council carried out by a bureaucracy, the net effect being, not the enthronement of democracy, but its abolition. I might have pointed out that this is what has actually happened under pressure of the War. When we were at peace, there were many things to be done of as great importance to the life of the nation as the present defence of the West front. For example, stopping the wholesale slaughter of children that was, and is, so much greater than the slaughter of soldiers. Nothing democratic was done. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, on the strength of what they had themselves done for children, and what had been done by autocratic mayors in Huddersfield and Villiers le Duc, induced the Government to do a little, just as the Plunkett nurses in New Zealand, and a similar private venture in Cheltenham, ended in the public authorities taking them over. But democracy had nothing to do with it. And it came to very little of what was needed. Compared with what has been done by pure autocratic bureaucracy to organise the War, nothing was done: it is still far safer to be a soldier in Flanders than a baby in the majority of English homes, even out of range of the raiders.

What is more, almost all the effective and valuable part of that work had to be done virtually in secret. If the newspapers had known about it, they would probably have stopped it by rallying the democracy against it. If its successive steps had been submitted to a Referendum the answer would have been a scandalised and indignant NO. On the other hand, if a Referendum had been taken after the sinking of the Lusitania, or in London after the first big air raid, on the question whether our German prisoners of war should be put to death, or at least treated as criminals under sentence of hard labour, the response would apparently have been a ferocious YES.

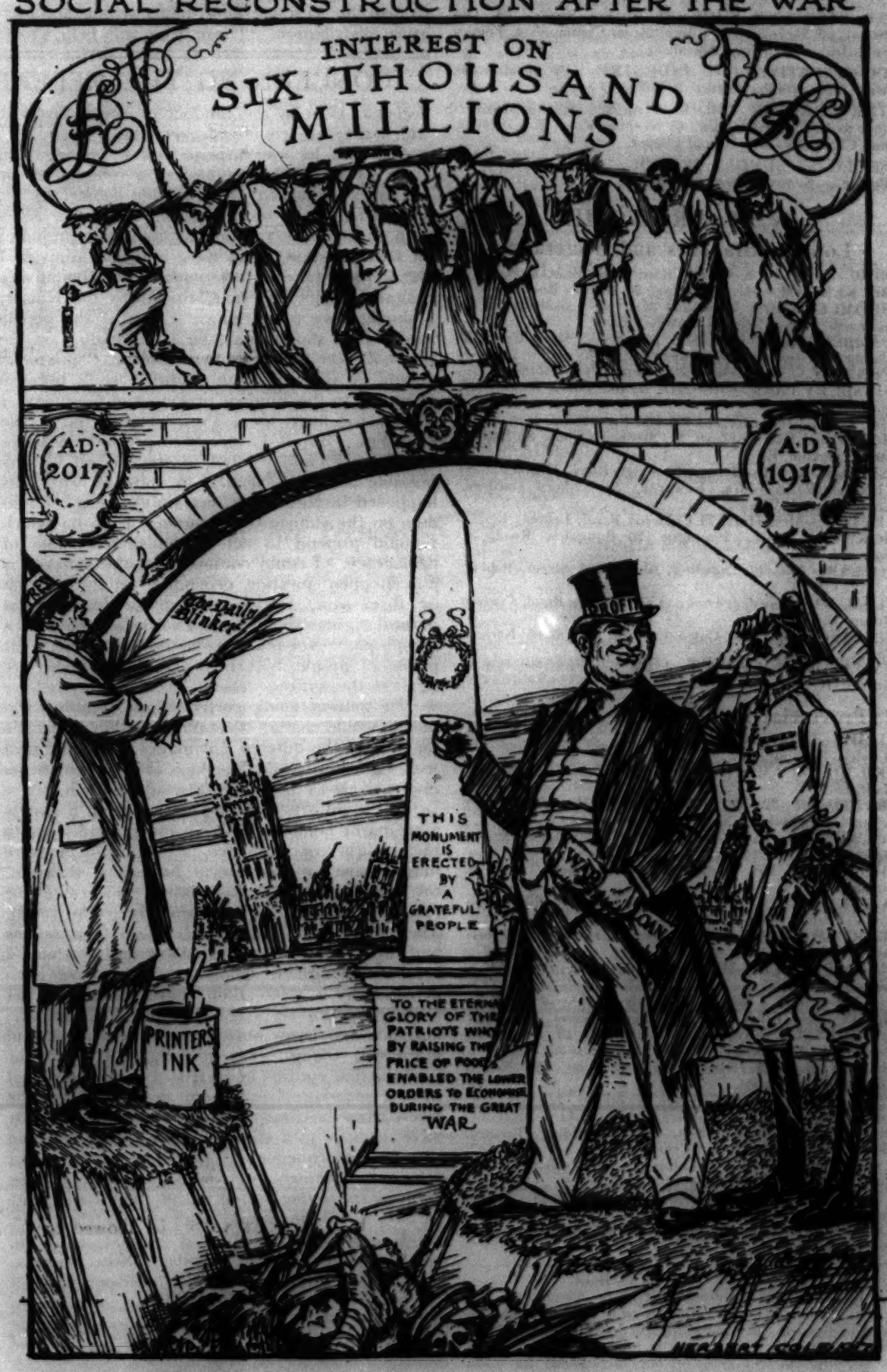
The truth is—and this was the main point of my address at King's Hall—the difficulty about governing with the consent of the people is that the people will not consent to be governed at all. They will obey the law as a horse obeys the reins and the whip. They will use the law, if it gets into their hands, as an instrument for the gratification of their vindictiveness and childish petulance and cruelty. But they will not make laws to govern themselves. The torture of Suffragettes and Conscientious Objectors, the shooting of prisoners of war and even of ordinary citizens, the acquittal of jealous murderers, are all highly popular when the victims are disliked; but it is the torture and the miscarriage of justice that please, not the legality of their forms. There are protests from people who do not dislike the victims, on grounds of pity and humanity, but none on the ground of the overwhelming importance of the maintenance of law and personal rights. It is always either "Serve them right!" or "Poor things!"

This is why every attempt to establish the millennium by giving more power to the people has failed. The Reform Bill of 1832 raised higher hopes than any other political measure before or since. The Reform Bill of 1885, which gave the working-class majority all the political power it was capable of using, simply re-established the oligarchy which the 1832 Act had broken. The more unconstitutionally the Government behaves, the more popular it is with everyone who is not personally hit by its mistakes and misdemeanours. The institution of Compulsory Service has revealed the fact that perhaps one per cent. of the colonels in the British Army are drunken ruffians, and possibly two per cent. illiterate snobs. Yet the praise and prominence given to these few disgraces to their profession by the popular press, and the positive enthusiasm with which they have been defended and cheered in Parliament, has created an impression among those who know no better that they are not only typical specimens of the army command, but saviours of their country.

How, in the face of all this, and of additional evidence enough to fill a whole number of the DREADNOUGHT, can any sane publicist advocate government by referendum? Do they want to see Miss Sylvia Pankhurst flogged, as her mother might have been flogged in 1908 if the thing could have been done by process of initiative and referendum? Nobody who wants to extend the domain of law and public right would be safe. Take the case of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. They have not broken windows, nor fought the police: possibly the reforms they advocate would be more advanced if they had. The whole business of their lives has been to find the appropriate and practicable political ways and means of escape for the people from the present miserable anarchy. Of their good will, their detestation of poverty and tyranny, their enormous industry and ability, their entirely pleasant, entertaining, and friendly personal qualities, they have given proofs enough, one would suppose, to have them canonised before their death by a grateful and enthusiastic people. But just simply because they are trying to replace our beloved anarchy by law, they are frantically abused and denounced, not by ignorant people who know nothing of them, but by educated and brilliant writers as disinterested and as much on the side of the people as themselves. If you doubt it, read "The New Witness," which holds them up as fiends forging chains for the enslavement of a joyous, free and happy world. Mrs. Webb rages against the horror of flinging destitute children into the general workhouse among epileptics, syphilitics, idiots, prostitutes, tramps, and worn out and broken down old people. She demands that they shall be rescued from the Guardians and taken care of and depauperised by the education authorities. And instantly a benevolent man of genius like Mr. G. K. Chesterton foams at the mouth, and declares that he will never have an innocent child delivered over to the educational tormentors by this abominable woman in her lust for "The Servile State," and that he, with God's help, will see to it, in spite of all the Webbs in creation, that the child shall still have its game of marbles in the workhouse yard, and its innocent laugh at Silly Billy, who thinks that the oyster shell he carries at the end of a string is a gold watch and chain. And this is only one illustration in a thousand. How can you govern a nation of born anarchists by referendum?

But even if you had a nation educated to understand the uses of law and the necessity for it, the referendum would be further off than ever; for no such nation would for a moment dream of giving people power to make laws or veto them without having heard them exhaustively discussed, for and against. Sixteen million adult men and women cannot sit in a legislative chamber and thrash out the pros and cons of the measures that have to be taken every session by the Government. The physical facts of space and multitude compel them to appoint a manageable number of representatives to obtain all the necessary information; hear all the arguments; and make the decision. Are they likely, having done this, to demand that the decision shall be over-ridden by people who have not obtained the information, have not heard the arguments, and are for the most part incapable of making a

(Continued on page 908.)



MILITARISM: "They seem to be taking very kindly to it!"
PROFIT: "Oh yes! with the help of our dear friend over there we can kid them into anything!"
MILITARISM: "How INTERESTING!"

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A W.S.F. CHRISTMAS BOX.

A Bow member suggested that every member of the W.S.F. should send a Christmas present to the Federation, just whatever he or she could afford or collect. We welcome this suggestion as we are much in need of funds to extend our organisation and carry on our propaganda for votes for all, Peace and Socialism.

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Gratefully Acknowledged.

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FRUIT.—Mrs. Napier.

FEDERATION NOTES

MRS. WALKER'S CHRISTMAS CAMPAIGN ON FOOD AND HOUSING.

Mrs. Walker is taking a series of open-air meetings on food and housing during the Christmas holidays, and volunteers will be welcomed to help her with speaking, paper selling and literature distribution. Those who will help should write to Mrs. Walker at 158 East India Dock Road. The meetings are on Saturday, 22nd December; Sunday, 23rd; Monday, 24th; Christmas Day and Boxing Day.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Members of the Federation and of kindred organisations are invited to attend our speakers' class which will be held every Wednesday until Christmas at 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. at 8.30 p.m. Mr. L. Hogben is the instructor. A fee of 3d. each class is charged in aid of the General Fund. Several members have already made good progress and we hope that many more will join as we need more speakers.

RESOLUTIONS ON FOOD AND MILK.

The following resolutions have been passed by W.S.F. branches and forwarded to the Food Controller:—

"We, the Holloway Branch of the W.S.F., protest against the high price of milk at the present time and consider it possible to reduce it to 6d. per quart."

"The St. Pancras branch of the W.S.F. protests against trades people sitting upon the Food Vigilance Committee, and demands that more working men and women be represented on it, as they understand from experience the conditions of the workers."

CAMBERWELL W.S.F.

The Camberwell branch has held good meetings at 85 Camberwell Grove. On Thursday, December 6th, a social evening was organised. A short Peace play by Mrs. Cole was greatly enjoyed. A good collection was taken for the General Fund.

SOUTH NORWOOD.

Mrs. Montague, 20 Bungalow Road, S. Norwood, is the new Branch Secretary. The branch is being helped by the Women's Social League to organise a Sale of Work in the New Year. Contributions of all kinds are urgently requested. Mr. Everett, the Literature Secretary, is doing well with the "Dreadnoughts." Many members are taking two copies weekly in order to get new subscribers. This branch is now affiliated to the Socialist Council at Croydon.

CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH.

This branch held a successful "At Home" at the Fabian Hall, 25 Tothill Street, Westminster, at 3 p.m., on Saturday, December 8th. There were speeches by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Mr. L. Hogben.

TONYPANDY.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is addressing those who desire to form a W.S.F. in Rhondda Valley at Tonypandy on December 23rd.

CONCERNING THE REFERENDUM (continued from page 905)

decision, even in the conduct of the industry in which they are employed every day?

And now let me surprise you by saying that I am by no means opposed to a referendum on any question which is a suitable subject for it, provided that the result shall have no other effect than to establish the fact as to public prejudice on that question. If I were a Prime Minister I should not take a referendum on compulsory military service, because, thanks to the Kaiser, I should have to introduce it even if the people said No. I should not take a referendum on the question whether a thousand German prisoners should be shot to avenge Edith Cavell, because in mercy to the English prisoners in Germany, I should not have them shot, even if the people said Yes. But if I were hard pressed on Votes for Women, and wanted to stave it off by any possible means, I should, in spite of what has happened in New York, certainly take a referendum on the chance of extracting a No on which I could pretend to act in the sacred name of democracy. I could contend that the suffrage is not an open question depending on information or discussion, but one of those fundamental natural rights which depend solely on the will of the people. Not that this would hold water; for plenty of people, both men and women, who are against the suffrage to-day because they believe we are getting along perfectly comfortably without it, would change their minds if they knew the facts as to the difference it makes. But my plea would go down with the people if it were made as impressively as Mr. Asquith would make it.

Still, there are questions as to which a statesman might honestly desire some guidance as to the weight of prejudice a doubtful measure might have to encounter. Take, for example, the marriage laws. Legislation concerning the tables of affinity has occasionally to be faced. The toleration of marriages between first cousins and with deceased wife's sister and husband's brother, though it would probably have been defeated by a referendum, nevertheless did not rouse prejudice so fierce that persons contracting such marriages were likely to be mobbed and murdered, though even to-day, if a couple of Catholic first cousins in an Irish village contracted a civil marriage, and were denounced by the priest from the altar, they would at the very least have to move to a considerable distance to avoid serious consequences. There is a form of referendum known as Lynch law which still, in many parts of the United States, shows what law is like when the people take it into their own hands, and how essential it is that it should be kept out of their hands. Now suppose it became advisable, as a consequence of the war, either to tolerate polygamy or to give unmarried women a right to legitimate maternity! A statesman might well find himself unable to guess whether public opinion would stand such measures. A referendum would throw some light on this. But the decision should not be dictated by the majority. There would be a huge majority against, as indeed there would be on almost any conceivable question involving a startling modification of social custom. But this would not settle the matter. The question for the Government would be whether the minority was large enough to provide the indispensable minimum of social countenance for persons availing themselves of the contemplated measure. I wonder how many supporters and opponents of the referendum have foreseen that a majority of nine to one against a measure would have to be taken in many cases as a vote in its favour. The toleration of a religion, for instance, does not depend on its votaries being in a majority. There was a time when Quakeresses were whipped and imprisoned with disorderly women, and a later time when Salvation lasses were mobbed by "Skeleton Armies." Neither Quakeresses nor Salvationists yet number anything approaching a majority of the population; but a persecution of them to-day would be as ridiculous as a persecution of geologists or mathematicians, who are still more heavily outnumbered.

The referendum would thus put an end to a great deal of nonsense about democracy meaning the rule of the majority. There are measures which are justified by a single casting vote on an evenly balanced division. There are measures that would be barely justified by a majority of ten thousand to one in a population as large as ours. And there are all the gradations between the two.

The recent debate on proportional representation suggests another case. It may happen that a Parliament elected by a bad method may have a majority of members who could not retain their seats under an improved method. I cannot myself remember any election of the House of Commons after which the defeated party did not demonstrate that it had a majority of votes. Now in such a case the majority cannot reform the method of election without committing political suicide; and this is rather too much to expect politicians to do on principle. Here there would be a direct conflict between Parliament and the nation. In such a case a referendum would be at least interesting, and might be decisive. It must not be inferred, by the way, that I condemn under existing conditions the recent decision of the House of Commons as to Proportional Representation; but a glance through the complete report of the debate will show that some of the speakers against the change opposed it with the frankly corrupt object of saving their own bacon or that of their party.

My conclusion is, that whilst government by referendum would be as impossible as it would be odious if it were possible, it does not follow that the referendum as a rough index to public prejudice is equally objectionable. By the way, somebody is sure to propose that when a question is referred—or shall I say, as we shall all certainly say, referended?—the press and platform shall be compelled to treat it as *sub judice* by forbidding them to give the national jury a lead of any sort; so I hasten to say that this remedy would be worse than the disease. The citizen who takes in a newspaper is undoubtedly a public danger; but the remedy is to make him (or her) take in two, of opposite opinions.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

December 4th.—Mr. Richard Lambert (L.) could get no satisfactory reply from Lord R. Cecil as to whether Great Britain would still "hand over" Ispahan and Yezd, in Persia, to Russia. Lord Robert denied that 500,000 Kirghiz Tartars had been massacred by order of the ex-Czar's Government in the summer of 1916.

EVILS OF CONSCRIPTION.

A series of questions was put by Mr. Snowden (Lab.) on the lack of defence granted to soldiers at courts-martial. He stated that in part of the month of October out of twenty-five executions confirmed by the Field-Marshal commanding in France only one case was defended. Mr. Macpherson refused to admit this, and, replying to other members, went on to say: "All these questions are governed by the Army Act passed by this very House." Soldiers will never get justice till they are punished by the law and the Courts which also apply to civilians, and until there is self-government in the Army.

RAIDS.

Replying to Mr. Lees Smith (L.), Mr. Brace stated that twelve raids had been made during the last month on societies and six on individuals. No prosecutions had taken place. When Mr. Lees-Smith suggested that the Government dare not prosecute, Mr. Brace implied that there might yet be prosecutions. Wait and see!

MISS HOWSIN.

As a result of a recent inquiry, it was decided that Miss Howsin—who has been interned for more than twenty-six months without charge or trial—might be released. The conditions being that her movements, correspondence, etc., be subject to restrictions. Bonds for "her good behaviour" in the sum of £1,000 were necessary, "each being entered into by three British subjects of good standing prepared to make themselves responsible for her." As the conditions could not be complied with, she has not been released! Yet Great Britain is out for Liberty and Democracy!!!

KILL OR CURE!

It has been decided that medicines which hitherto contained glycerine shall in future have substitutes. Glycerine is to be reserved for "purposes for which efficient substitutes are not available." We do not often hear of a member of the Government speaking so plainly, and admitting that killing is more important than curing.

ARMY REGULATION OF VICE.

December 5th.—Commander Wedgwood (L.) queried the truth of the statement made by the French military authorities that a brothel at Cayeux-sur-Mer had been opened at the request of the British military authorities; that when the townspeople tried to have the establishment closed, the Mayor justified its existence by pointing out that there was a large British convalescent camp in the town. Mr. Macpherson promised to make inquiries. Women should realise that this is what militarism means.

STARVATION PAY.

The low rates of pay of the Army Ordnance Department in Ireland were excused by Mr. Forster as not falling below the local rate. If struggling Irish employers sweat their workers, it is no reason for the Government to aid them by sweating, too!

RUSSIA.

December 6th.—Questions about Russia put by Mr. King (L.), Lord R. Cecil dubbed as "embarrassing His Majesty's Government at a moment of very great anxiety and difficulty," and therefore refused to answer. Mr. Houston (U.) pointed out that quantities of munitions and guns supplied by this country to Russia had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and were being used now against the Allies. The irony of Fate!

MILK.

Mr. Clynes stated that a circular is being issued to Food Control Committees drawing their attention to giving priority in milk supplies to children and invalids. Mr. Clynes ought to be informed that this order is not being complied with, for extra supplies are only given to dairies when there is a question of an official dinner to the Prime Minister!

SUGAR WASTED.

December 7th.—Mr. Smallwood pointed out that in the borough of Stepney alone 1,000 tons of sugar have been allotted up to April 20th, 1918, to manufacturers of beers and stouts, sugar confectionery, pastries, biscuits and mineral waters, whilst the same quantity has been allotted for the whole population of Stepney for domestic purposes. He further urged that thousands of tons of good food in the shape of fruit has been lost for want of sugar, whilst in one borough alone 4,000 tons of sugar were used for brewing. No satisfactory reply was given.

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

The final debates on the Representation of the People Bill were held December 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th. Before being read a third time, it was recommitted on the C.O. amendment and the Irish redistribution schedule. Sir G. Cave, evidently made somewhat ashamed of the disfranchising of C.O.s, suggested that this should not last for life, but that a period of seven years after the War be chosen as the time of disqualification—this was afterwards reduced to five years. He also inserted a proviso that those who had done useful work—although C.O.s—should not be deprived of their votes—in short, merely the Absolutists are to be penalised. Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) made an effort to obtain the penalisation of all law-breakers, urging that the basest criminals are given the vote. Sir G. Younger (U.) at this point remarked: "The one man is discharing his duty to his country, and the other is not." It is a strange thing to hear that committing a crime comprises "one's duty to one's country." Yet, as Lord Hugh pointed out, that gentleman "is really driven mad, and has lost all sense of proportion," as many others have done. "Hon. members will come to regret the day that they have really supported the proposition that every law-breaker shall have a vote except the law-breaker who breaks the law on conscientious grounds." And we believe Lord Hugh to be right and logical in his argument. A rather novel suggestion as to the origin of the conscientious objector was Mr. Tim Healy's assertion that the soldiers at The Curragh, who said, "We decline to bear arms for His Majesty," were the first C.O.s. He stated as a reason for voting for Lord Hugh's amendment to disfranchise all law-breakers that by so doing he would help to disfranchise Sir Edward Carson and "The Curragh mutineers." Mr. Adamson (Lab.) pointed out that the profiteers, who in some cases would get two votes, had done more to undermine the "loyalty and patriotism of our people" than the small number of C.O.s. Mr. Dillon (I.N.), in common with other Nationalists who spoke, declared lack of sympathy with the C.O., but at the same time greatly condemned their disfranchisement. It is "a cowardly action," which the Government would not dare apply to men backed by trade unions and great influences. Mr. Thomas (Lab.) also spoke on similar lines, and pointed out that the Government was not dealing with a few insignificant cranks, but with men who would deliberately go to the stake for their conscience. But all these fine speeches and sentiments were of no avail, it was decided by a majority to deprive Absolutist C.O.s of the vote for five years. Mr. Dickinson (L.) did not forget their wives, and moved an amendment, which was carried, securing them against any similar penalisation.

The other great point of contention was the Irish redistribution. Invectives of the most abusive and uncomplimentary nature were hurled at the Government and individuals suspected of working the introduction of this schedule. After debating it for three days and half a night, Mr. Bonar Law accepted Mr. Redmond's original suggestion that it should form a separate Bill. He added this codicil—that it should receive the Royal Assent on the same day as the Franchise Bill. This will probably mean the wrecking of the Franchise Bill. We should have thought that, since the Government agreed to wait, that it would have waited to hear the decision of the Convention, and thus avoid what, we hope, is most probably unnecessary legislation. This redistribution scheme must surely have a bad effect on the Convention, since the assumption of its being necessary simply implies what most of the opponents of the Convention have repeatedly stated, i.e., that it is a farce, set up to pretend that the British Government means well!

Great compliments were paid to Sir G. Cave on his success in piloting this horrible mass of compromises through the House.

PEACE ON EARTH. By George Lansbury

The Editor of the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT asks me for a Christmas message. I find it difficult to send a new one, because the old one still rings true for me. The War has wrought untold misery and suffering for us all; apparently all the forces of the devil and evil have been let loose. Men talk glibly of a long war, a war that may last two, three or even ten years. I refuse to believe in such talk, because I cannot think the democracies of Europe and America either will or can stand it. If by any means other than by slaughter this war can be ended, every mother, every wife, every child will welcome such an end. No one dares to tell us the weekly casualties; we only know when we meet our friends how heavy these are; we know by the loss of dear ones what a toll the Militarists are taking from us. People say we must go on and on at whatever cost, in order to save our children from enduring the same kind of agony in the future; if the War goes on much longer there will be no young men left to save from anything. The way out and only way out is to cease, as Sir W. Robertson has well said, "putting our trust in chariots and horses." We have to pin our faith to the great moral and spiritual principles of life and conduct laid down for us in the Sermon on the Mount preached by Him Whose birth we will try to remember this coming Christmas Day. Women all over Europe are bearing the heaviest burden of sorrow in the War. It is they who love their children, their husbands, their brothers; it is they who receive back the battered and bruised—the men who are physically, and sometimes mentally wrecked by the War. Yes, the children suffer, too; but it is wives and mothers and sweethearts who endure the most, and we men who are old, we are criminal if we do not raise up our voices for a peace if by any means a peace is possible. Germany can hope for nothing by a blind continuance of the War; neither can Britain nor America. Consequently all that is sane in our social and public life must range itself behind Lord Lansdowne. I want, however, to say this: my faith in the truth of Christ's teaching is stronger than ever. He came to teach people how to live. We have refused to follow Him. Whenever we do follow Him, wars will cease, and, in sending good wishes to THE DREADNOUGHT and the best of good luck to the Workers' Suffrage Federation, I would like to say that the future of the race depends entirely on whether we each are willing to accept, and by God's good grace follow out, the teaching of Christ, by recognising that all men, all women, of every race and every clime, are of equal value, and each and all have the right to live their lives in peace and harmony one with another. No one of us is good enough to dominate and control others. When we have cleared our own lives and become decent men and women we will not want anything at the expense of our neighbours, we shall all desire to be servants of each other, not, as now, masters.

International Young Age Pensions

Dear Friends of Humanity,—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.—Yours truly,

[Advt.] S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

To the Editor of the "Dreadnought."

Dear Madam,—I have received, under the heading of "Young Life Saving Bill," a suggestion, signed S. Mackenzie Kennedy, that an emergency measure be passed to give five shillings a week to every child born in poor circumstances, to boys till they reach the age of fourteen, and to girls for life. The only part of the suggestion that I do not agree with, is that girls, that is to say women, should have the pension for life. This would brand women as lifelong dependants upon men, and would be a direct admission that they should continue to be paid at lower rates than men, and would make them a permanent menace to trade unions in the wage struggle. Of course every woman should be entitled to claim a pension as soon as pregnancy makes a demand upon her strength, the pension to be continued to the child from its birth, to avoid her becoming automatically poorer by each child that she bears. This I have been advocating for thirty years, and I hope that the wrong-headed and mischievous suggestion that a healthy and childless woman should be pensioned, will not be allowed to hamper the progress of the measure when it is brought forward. How long will it take well-meaning people to understand that the so-called pension should really be a well-earned salary to the mother for her service to the community and not an insulting compensation for her sex.

JAMES LEAKEY.

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HUMAN SUFFRAGE. By Israel Zangwill

I.

What John Stuart Mill called "the subjection of women" is often described as a piece of the East left—like a fly in amber—in the constitution of the West. And in so far as the East has maintained more rigidly the primitive conception of "woman's place," the description is true. That place is now defined by the Anti-Suffragist as "the home." The definition overlooks that the place which means drawing-room in the West means harem in the East, and if the struggle of the Western woman is to escape from the drawing room, the struggle of the Eastern woman is to enter it. But "woman's place"—in the ancient conception—was not even "the home." If "place" implies, as it should, sphere of control, then the home was woman's prison, rather than her place. For even in the home man was master. In the old Indo-European civilisation (which embraced the Greeks and the Romans), the *paterfamilias* was at once despot and priest of the domestic cult. He could kill, punish or sell his wife, and he was not responsible for her actions. It was, in fact, a mono-sexual society, woman being only the necessary channel for carrying on the male sex.

II.

That conception, not without its rationale, or its religious value in the dawn of civilisation—"harem" still means a sanctuary—has been largely transformed in the West. But though the old powers of the *paterfamilias* have faded, the ideas and emotions attaching to them still lurk in the sub-consciousness. The Freudian psychology of "the suppressed wish" finds valuable illustration in the sullen opposition to Female Suffrage. The male delight in dominance and the female delight in being dominated have been driven underground, and the ridiculous situation of the Anti-Suffragists arises from the fact that they can find no overground reasons for their opposition. The avowed reasons are beneath contempt, because the real reasons are beneath consciousness. I have read and heard every possible argument against woman suffrage, and the sum and substance of each and all is that man and woman are one, and man is that one.

III.

It may be worth while in passing to note to what comical shifts the underground instinct is driven when challenged to explain itself rationally. Thus, the maxim: "Woman's place is the home" is meant to warn us that if we enfranchise woman she will immediately step outside. The humour of the position is that she had stepped outside long ago. Even before the War flooded every department of civil life with women, there were in England 600,000 women earning their living—and often that of dependants—outside the home. This economic exodus was, in fact, one of the main causes of the demand for the vote, female labour seeking its protection. Yet this cause *in esse* is actually put forward as an effect *in posse*. The old opposition to woman's leaving the home has persisted several generations after she has left it, and hatred being as blind as love, the opponents have not even seen what was passing under their noses. In the face of such a transformation of the social economy, under the irresistible evolution of Life, a society governed by Reason and Love would at once have striven to adjust its political institutions to the changed social order. So far, however, from making the readjustment, the bulk of society had not even observed the change. And even now, when Armageddon has made it impossible even for the Kaiser to limit woman's sphere to "Kids, Kitchen and Kirk," when even in the Male State *par excellence* the new status of woman has forced itself even upon the blindest Herr Professor, the opposition has only been driven further underground: the trenches are dug deeper, and the Anti-Suffragist will die in the last and lowest ditch.

It should be added that even *were* "woman's place the home," that is the supreme reason for giving her the vote. The home is no crag-throned eyrie, inaccessible and empyræan. It is the very centre of all national forces, the barometer registering all political pressures. All roads lead to home. It is home to roost that all political curses—and blessings—come: marriage-legislation, child-legislation, factory-legislation, drink-legislation, questions of food production and prices, conscription, taxation, everything in short that the male has so long monopolised—with results that may be read in the death-stricken and hungry homes of Europe. Even bombs do not avoid the home, notwithstanding that it is "woman's place."

IV.

From that abysmal ditch where Anti-Suffrage now cowers comes up the last sepulchral rallying-cry: "Women could not enforce their votes." The ballot-paper is, in short, only paper for Force, as the dollar is paper for Gold, and lacking the substantial basis of Force the female vote is as valueless as a bank-note backed by no gold reserve. It is no longer that woman cannot "do her bit" in war—that argument would nowadays, in presence of the immense female factor in the war, not even excluding the official casualty list, be too shameless even for "the suppressed wish"—but that if she were to vote contrary to man on some burning question, she could not enforce her will against his revolt. This is a curious argument for those who are out to fight the Prussian doctrine that Might is Right. Looked at obversely, too, it implies that it is by right of Force that men hold their present rule over women, and that any caprice of tyranny would thus find its justification. The truth is, however, that the human sphere is not one of Force, but increasingly a spiritual sphere of Reason and Love, that super-physical realm which the human soul has built up, and which is man's distinction and glory. That "force rules the world" will indeed seem a singular proposition to anyone who knows how the household bows to the baby. Force resides in man, but does not rule him. He exercises it, but not unreasonably—unless he is a lunatic. And in replacing the sword by the ballot-box he designed to yield to the will of the majority, not becasue the majority could destroy the minority, but because the majority would probably be right, or, in any case, had the right to live conformably to its own idea rather than to that of the minority. The vote is a symbol not of Force, but of its suppression.

V.

Were the vote extended to women, it is impossible that any question would arise in which all the women would be arranged symmetrically on one side and all the men on the other, like the saints and sinners in the old Italian pictures: both majority and minority would always be mixed. Even the Pankhurst family has split up into two factions—the one Pacifist, the other Militarist. The only case which has ever been brought up to show the possibility of men being dragooned by women pure and simple is characteristically connected with liquor: even the late Mr. Stead wondered whether men would tolerate the closing of the saloons by the sex which could not physically enforce it. But even here, though saloons have been closed often enough in America, no absolute division of the sexes has ever been known in practice—it is even a party almost exclusively male that is demanding it in England for the period of the War—and one might just as readily wonder whether an exclusively male majority could enforce it against a desperate minority of topers. Civil wars have always burst through the social pact, when passions became over-inflamed—British Peace meetings are broken up even to-day by the militarist majority. At the utterly improbable worst, therefore, a civil war of the sexes on a single point would be no novelty in essence and no reason for removing the pacific operation of the ballot from the rest of life.

Moreover, British Anti-Suffragists forget that, except in countries with the Referendum, questions never come up directly at all: it is men not measures that are selected at the polls. And does anybody suppose that when Brown is returned with 5,046 votes, he could enforce his position against Jones with 5,039, or that Jones could not combine with the third defeated candidate (Robinson, 4,075) to annihilate the Brown faction?

VI.

But when Reforms lag behind Life too long, they are apt to get belated, and new demands push on before them, as tenants that have never had gas may suddenly ask for electric light. Thus it is that the majority of Female Suffragists are now demanding, not Woman Suffrage, but Human Suffrage. For the War, carried on by the whole nation, has given the last impulse to democracy, and the cry is now: "Votes for *All*. *L'Etat c'est nous.*" Nor is this the only demand hatched by the War. The same Titanic event that has opened the eyes of men to the military value of women has opened their eyes, too, to their own impotence. Without their will or knowledge the War was sprung upon them; they can neither deflect its course nor decide its termination. It was the monstrous progeny of secret treaties, and still other secret treaties, forged since its birth, determine its duration. If all roads lead to home, none is so thronged with fateful messengers as that which leads from the front. Indeed, one might well say: Let me make a nation's treaties, I care not who makes its laws.

VII.

Thus it is that Democracy now demands Human Suffrage, with the control of Foreign Politics. For if Armageddon is to be worth the ocean of blood and tears it has cost humanity, we must now clean up the planet, straighten out its tragic tangles, and adjust its chaotic politics by the application of Reason and Love. Never again must we wait till a sex, a class, or a country is driven by its wrongs to that old recipe of Force, which, even according to popular wisdom, is no remedy. A material victory over Germany is not enough. We must have a real democracy, a democracy of equal men and women; nay, a world-series of democracies, uniform in Liberty and Justice, for only out of such uniform organisms, as Kant profoundly saw, can you build up any real Federation of Mankind. A world-Peace on the existing basis would only be a peace of the Devil in which Liberty and Justice would sink to the level of the Lowest Great Power.

VIII.

It is bad enough that Life should linger so far behind the Ideal; it is intolerable that institutions should linger even behind Life. To add to the tragi-comedy of humanity, while the Great Powers that once led mankind stand obstinately before the inevitable, Woman Suffrage is already at work in some of the lesser States; nay, some have even progressed further, so that while in Finland women actually sit in Parliament, in France—land of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity—they cannot even vote for the male. And while in Australia and New Zealand they are men's equals at the polls, in England they are still classed politically with idiots, lunatics, and criminals not yet out of gaol, so that a woman coming from the Colonies to the Motherland finds her rights—and men's minds—not enlarged but straitened. An Englishwoman, who travelled through the obscure interior of China, told me that when she visited a girls' school in a provincial town she was invited to address the girls, who, it appeared, had been taught English. She asked them what she was to speak about, and with one voice they cried out: "The Suffragettes." Possibly wisdom is again coming from the East, and the Western Powers, already left behind by the newest countries, may soon find themselves ignominiously distanced by the oldest.

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